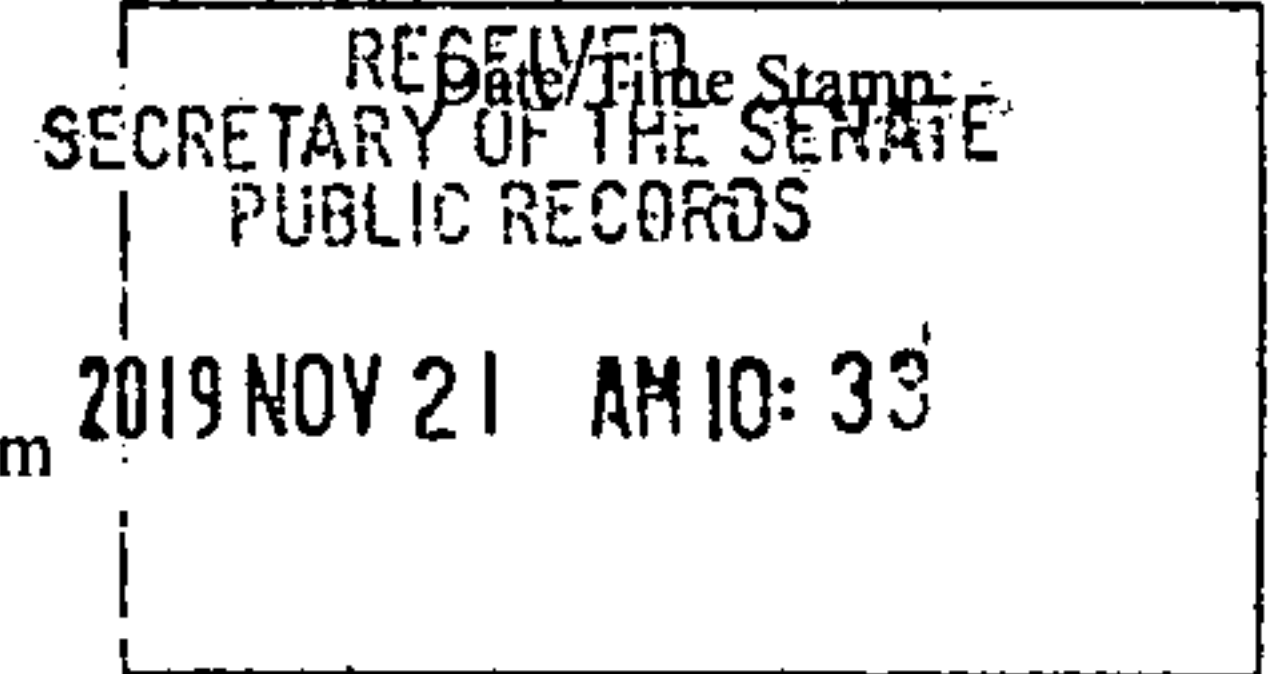


Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses



Post-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete this form within 30 days of returning from travel. Submit all forms to the **Office of Public Records in 232 Hart Building.**

In compliance with Rule 35.2(a) and (c), I make the following disclosures with respect to travel expenses that have been or will be reimbursed/paid for me. I also certify that I have attached:

- ☐ The **original** *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* (Form RE-1), **AND**
☐ A **copy** of the *Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form* with all attachments (itinerary, invitee list, etc.)

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): Stanford University Hoover Institution

Travel date(s): August 19th-21st 2019

Name of accompanying family member (if any): _____

Relationship to Traveler: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

IF THE COST OF LODGING DID NOT INCREASE DUE TO THE ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY INCLUDE LODGING COSTS IN EMPLOYEE EXPENSES. (Attach additional pages if necessary.)

Expenses for Employee:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount	\$300	\$400	\$160	

Expenses for Accompanying Spouse or Dependent Child (if applicable):

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount				

Provide a description of all meetings and events attended. See Senate Rule 35.2(c)(6). (Attach additional pages if necessary.):

See agenda attached

11/20/19

(Date)

Terrence Michael Andrews

(Printed name of traveler)

[Signature]

(Signature of traveler)

TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING MEMBER/OFFICER:

I have made a determination that the expenses set out above in connections with travel described in the *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* form, are necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses as defined in Rule 35.

11/20/19

(Date)

[Signature]

(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): Stanford University's Hoover Institution
2. Description of the trip: An intensive program for Congressional staff which consists of three days of seminars, simulations, and keynote presentations.
3. Dates of travel: August 19-21, 2019
4. Place of travel: Stanford University, Stanford, CA
5. Name and title of Senate invitees: See attached list.
6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
 - ☐ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
 - OR
 - ☒ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
 - AND
 - ☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8. I *certify* that:
 - ☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
 - AND
 - ☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

9. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)**

I *certify* that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

OR

☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).

OR

☒ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)**

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

Stanford University's Hoover Institution solely planned all aspects of the trip including topics discussed, travel/accommodation logistics, and required paperwork. Hoover staff will also be responsible for traveling with Congressional staff and managing logistics for the duration of the trip.

13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

The Hoover Institution is a research institution that seeks to improve the human condition by advancing ideas that promote economic opportunity and prosperity while securing and safeguarding peace through its world renowned scholars, library and archives, as well as by engaging Congress and its staff.

14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:

This is the seventh sponsored trip for Congressional staff organized by the Hoover Institution. The latest of which was in April 2019 and had a similar format to this trip.

15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

Stanford University's Hoover Institution regularly sponsors policy panels and roundtables for think tank scholars, journalists, Congressional staff, executive branch officials, academics and members of the public.

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith estimate <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	\$297.48	\$400 (\$200/night)	\$160 total	None

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

The trip involves an event that is arranged/organized specifically with regard to congressional participation.

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

In order to have a significant number of California-based Senior Fellows participate in the event, we are hosting on the Hoover Institution's headquarters on Stanford University campus.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

Schwab Residential Center, 680 Serra Street, Stanford, CA 94305

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

Schwab Residential Center is owned and operated by Stanford University. It is in close proximity to the events that comprise the program.

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Lodging expenses are less than the federal per diem for Palo Alto, CA. Meal expenses are less than the federal per diem for Palo Alto, CA.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Stanford University's Hoover Institution will provide coach-class airfare between Washington DC and San Francisco, CA; and ground transportation between SFO and Stanford University.

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

None.

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (For trips involving more than one sponsor, you *must* include a completed signature page for each additional sponsor):

Signature of Travel Sponsor:

Name and Title: Paige Mathes, Senior Manager, Washington, DC Programs

Name of Organization: Hoover Institution

Address: 1399 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20005

Telephone Number: 202.760,3200

Fax Number: 202,760.3191

E-mail Address: spmathes@stanford.edu

EMPLOYEE PRE-TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

Pre-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete and submit this form at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date to the **Select Committee on Ethics in SH-220**. Incomplete and late travel submissions will not be considered or approved. This form must be typed and is available as a fillable PDF on the Committee's website at ethics.senate.gov. Retain a copy of your entire pre-travel submission for your required post-travel disclosure.

Name of Traveler: Terrence M. Andrews

Employing Office/Committee: US Senate Committee on Indian Affairs

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): Stanford University Hoover Institution

Travel date(s): August 19-2, 2019

Note: If you plan to extend the trip for any reason you must notify the Committee.

Destination(s): Stanford University, Stanford, California

Explain how this trip is specifically connected to the traveler's official or representational duties:

As Majority Staff Director for the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, I am interested in examining the cross section of the global demands in the 21st century as well as the discussion on health care insurance markets especially as they pertain to the Indian Health Service. Finally, I am interested in learning more about the pension crisis discussion as it pertains to the many tribal pension systems that may not have enough money set aside to be solvent with their employees. I am looking forward to hearing about solutions.

Name of accompanying family member (if any): _____

Relationship to Employee: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge.

7/12/19
(Date)

T. M. Andrews
(Signature of Employee)

TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING SENATOR/OFFICER (President of the Senate, Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant at Arms, Secretary for the Majority, Secretary for the Minority, and Chaplain):

I, John Hoeven hereby authorize T. Michael Andrews
(Print Senator's/Officer's Name) (Print Traveler's Name)

an employee under my direct supervision, to accept payment or reimbursement for necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to the event described above. I have determined that this travel is in connection with his or her duties as a Senate employee or an officeholder, and will not create the appearance that he or she is using public office for private gain.

I have also determined that the attendance of the employee's spouse or child is appropriate to assist in the representation of the Senate. (signify "yes" by checking box) ☐

7/12/19
(Date)

John Hoeven
(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)



July 9, 2019

Dear Mr. Andrews,

We are pleased to inform you that you have been selected to participate in the Hoover Institution's August 19-21, 2019 Stuart Family Congressional Fellowship Program. This intensive 3-day program includes seminars on Stanford University's campus, where Hoover scholars, such as James Mattis, George Shultz and William Perry will discuss "America in the Next Decade: A Look Forward".

These sessions will challenge you to learn from and debate key philosophical and policy issues with some of the nation's leading thinkers and practitioners. As a participant you will receive round-trip airfare and ground transportation to Stanford University from Washington, DC, housing on Stanford's campus, and those meals that are part of the program.

To proceed, please confirm your agreement to attend by completing this form by the close of business on Monday, July 15th. Due to ethics rules, to maintain your spot, it is imperative that you submit the proper paperwork. Please complete the paperwork provided and items listed below to your ethics committee for review by Monday, July 22nd. Your submission packet should include:

- Traveler Form (attached for you to fill out)
- Private Sponsor Certification Form (completed for you and attached)
- Agenda & Flight itinerary (attached)
- Copy of this invitation letter

If you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact Paige Mathes (spmathes@stanford.edu; 202.760.3202). Again, thank you for your participation. We look forward to and expect an excellent program.

Sincerely,

Michael G. Franc
Director, Washington D.C. Programs
Hoover Institution, Stanford University



PROGRAM



PROGRAM

AUGUST 19-21, 2019

HOOVER INSTITUTION, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Note: There will be 10-minute breaks between sessions.

MONDAY, AUGUST 19

8:50 AM: Depart IAD on UA Flight 1763

11:24 AM: Arrive SFO, Shuttle to Lou Henry Hoover Building at Stanford University
Location: 580 Serra Mall, Stanford, CA 94305

12:15 – 12:30 PM: Welcome Lunch with Hoover's Deputy Director and Director of Archives
Eric Wakin

12:30 – 1:40 PM: **Putinism**
Michael McFaul will discuss his research into Russia and its role in the world, particularly vis a vis the United States.

1:50 – 3:00 PM: Entitlement Reform: Reason for Hope
John Cogan will discuss his research on the US budget and reform of entitlement programs.

3:10 – 4:20 PM: **US Global Leadership of Democratic Ideals**
Larry Diamond will discuss his research on democratic trends and conditions around the world and policies to defend and advance democracy.

4:30 – 5:40 PM: **The China Story**
Frank Dikotter takes a look back at the China during the 20th century and what that means for the present and future.

5:40 – 6:00 PM: Transport to Dinner

6:00 – 7:30 PM: **Informal Dinner**
Location: Tacolicious, 632 Emerson Street, Palo Alto, CA



7:30 PM: **Transport to Schwab Residential Center**
Location: 680 Serra Mall, Stanford, CA 94305

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20

All meetings will be held in: Annenberg Conference Room, 580 Serra Mall, Stanford, CA 94305

8:30 – 9:00 AM: **Continental Breakfast**

9:00 – 10:10 AM: **Health Insurance Markets**
Kate Bundorf will focus on the future of health insurance and health-care-provider markets.

10:20 AM – 11:30 PM: **The Threat of Nuclear War**
George Shultz and William Perry will discuss their decades of efforts in nuclear arms control.

11:40 AM – 12:50 PM: **Addressing the Pension Crisis**
Josh Rauh will discuss his research on local and state pension systems and how they have failed to set aside sufficient money to honor the pensions promises made to public sector employees.

12:50 – 1:15 PM: **Lunch**

1:15 – 2:25 PM: **Iran and the U.S.: Perils and Prospects**
Abbas Milani will discuss his research on US/Iran relations, Iranian cultural, political, and security issues.

2:35 – 3:15 PM: **Hoover Tower Tour**

3:25 – 4:15 PM: **Archival Presentation**
Jean Cannon will present archival materials from the Hoover collections and discuss how learning from history can help drive current policy.
Location: Archive Reading Room, HHMB

4:15 – 5:15 PM: **Climate Change and Policy**
Bjorn Lomborg will give a discussion analyzing the cost and benefit of tackling climate change.

5:15 – 6:15 PM: **Campus tour**





HOOVER
INSTITUTION

ONE HUNDRED YEARS

STUART FAMILY CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP
August 19-21, 2019

LOGISTICS BRIEFING

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Group Flight Information:

Outbound flight: August 19, 2019

Flight Number – 1763

Departure Airport – IAD

Departure Time – 8:55 AM EST

Arrival Airport – SFO

Arrival Time – 11:20 AM PST

Return Flight: August 21, 2019

Flight Number – 1400

Departure Airport – SFO

Departure Time – 1:00 PM PST

Arrival Airport – IAD

Arrival Time – 8:54 PM EST

Checking in: Group ticketing does not allow to check in online, so you will have to check in at IAD on Monday morning. Please budget additional time to check in at the airport. Suggested Arrival at IAD: TSA suggests arriving 2 hours prior to departure to check in, check bags (if applicable) and clear security. For our flight, that would mean arriving at IAD at 7:00am.

Checked Bags: Hoover does not cover the cost of checked bags.

Attire: Attire for the trip is business casual. As the agenda shows, you will roll immediately into the first session when you arrive on campus, so please prepare accordingly.

Shuttle to Campus: A shuttle bus will meet you at SFO baggage claim where you will take a short walk to get onto the shuttle to come to campus. If you have made other arrangements and you do not plan on taking the shuttle to campus please notify us so we do not hold the shuttle waiting for you.

Accommodations: You will be staying at Schwab Residential Center which is located on Stanford's campus (680 Serra Street, Stanford, CA 94305) and is a short walk to Hoover and the seminar room.

TRAVEL INFORMATION

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Erin Nichols
emnich@stanford.edu
 (919)358-2354

MAP & CONTACT INFORMATION

SPEAKERS

ERIC WAKIN is the author of *Anthropology Goes to War: Professional Ethics and Counterinsurgency in Thailand*. His current research interest is guns and gun control in the nineteenth-century United States and he is revising a manuscript titled "From Flintlock to 'Tramps' Terror': Guns and Gun Control in Nineteenth-Century New York City." He has also coauthored a number of walking-tour books and travel guides.

Before coming to Hoover, Wakin was the Herbert H. Lehman Curator for American History and the Curator of Manuscripts at the Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Columbia University, where he also taught courses in the History Department on public history, memory and narrative, archives and knowledge, and theory.

He has also worked in business development, competitive intelligence, strategic communications, and digital strategy at Ernst & Young, IBM Custom Publishing, Kroll, PaulHastings, and Technology Investor. He continues to advise corporate and nonprofit entities on history and archive-related issues and consults on leadership and operational effectiveness in libraries and special collections.

Wakin received a BA in English literature from Columbia University; an MA in Southeast Asian studies and an MA in political science from the University of Michigan, where he was a FLAS Fellow; and a PhD in history from Columbia, where he was a Richard Hofstadter Fellow and a President's Fellow.

MICHAEL A. MCFAUL is the Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution as well as a professor of political science, director and senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. He also currently works as a news analyst for NBC and writes monthly column for the Washington Post. His areas of expertise include international relations, Russian politics, comparative democratization, and American foreign policy. From January 2012 to February 2014, he served as the US ambassador to the Russian Federation. Before becoming ambassador, he served for three years as a special assistant to the president and senior director for Russian and Eurasian Affairs at the National Security Council. He has authored and edited several books including most recently the New York Times best seller, *From Cold War to Hot Peace: An American Ambassador in Putin's Russia* (May 2018).

JOHN COGAN is the Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and a faculty member in the Public Policy Program at Stanford University.

John Cogan's research is focused on U.S. budget and fiscal policy, federal entitlement programs, and health care. He has published widely in professional journals in both economics and political science. His latest book, *The High Cost of Good Intentions* (2017) is the recipient of the 2018 Hayek Prize. The book traces the history of U.S. federal entitlement programs from the Revolutionary War to modern times. His previous books include *Healthy, Wealthy, and Wise: Five Steps to a Better Health Care System*, coauthored with Glenn Hubbard and Daniel Kessler, and *The Budget Puzzle*, (with Timothy Muris and Allen Schick).

Cogan has devoted a considerable part of his career to public service. He served under President Ronald Reagan as assistant secretary for policy in the U.S. Department of Labor from 1981 to 1983, as associate director in the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) from 1983 to 1985, and as Deputy (OMB) Director in 1988-89. His responsibilities included developing and reviewing Reagan Administration policies in the areas of health care, Social Security, disability, welfare, and employment training.

Cogan has served on numerous congressional, presidential, and California state advisory commissions. At the federal level, he has served on President George W. Bush's Commission to Strengthen Social Security, the U.S. Bipartisan Commission on Health Care (the Pepper Commission), the Social Security Notch Commission, and the National Academy of Sciences' Panel on Poverty and Family Assistance. He has also served on the California State Commission on the 21st Century Economy and the California Public Employee Post-Employment Benefits Commission.

SPEAKER BIOS

Cogan received his A.B. in 1969 and his Ph.D. in 1976 from the University of California at Los Angeles, both in economics. He received his M.A. in Economics from California State University at Long Beach in 1970. He was an associate economist at the RAND Corporation from 1975 to 1980. In 1979, Cogan was appointed a national fellow at the Hoover Institution; in 1980 he was appointed a senior research fellow; and in 1984 he became a senior fellow.

LARRY DIAMOND is senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, at Stanford University. He is also a professor by courtesy of political science and sociology at Stanford and a past director of its Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, where he now leads its Program on Arab Reform and Democracy and its Global Digital Policy Incubator. He is the author of *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Through the World* and editor or co-editor of 50 books on democracy. He is the founding co-editor of the *Journal of Democracy*.

FRANK DIKOTER is the author of *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe* published by Bloomsbury and Walker Books. The book was selected as one of the Books of the Year in 2010 by *The Economist*, *The Independent*, the *Sunday Times*, the *London Evening Standard* (selected twice), *The Telegraph*, the *New Statesman* and the *BBC History Magazine*, and won the 2011 Samuel Johnson Prize for Non-Fiction, Britain's most prestigious book award for non-fiction. He has been Chair Professor of Humanities at the University of Hong Kong since 2006. Before coming to Hong Kong he was Professor of the Modern History of China at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

KATE BUNDORF is an Associate Professor of Health Research and Policy at the Stanford University School of Medicine, an Associate Professor, by Courtesy, at the Stanford Graduate School of Business, and a Stanford Health Policy Fellow. She is also a Faculty Research Fellow at the National Bureau of Economic Research. She received her M.B.A. and M.P.H. degrees from The University of California at Berkeley and her Ph.D. from The Wharton School. She was a Fulbright Lecturer and Visiting Professor at Fudan School of Public Health in Shanghai, China in 2009 and 2010.

Her research, which focuses on health insurance markets, has been published in leading economics and health policy journals and has received funding from the U.S. National Institutes of Health, the Agency for Health Care Research and Quality and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. She received the 13th Annual Health Care Research Award from The National Institute for Health Care Management in 2007.

GEORGE SHULTZ has had a distinguished career in government, in academia, and in the world of business. He is one of two individuals who have held four different federal cabinet posts; he has taught at three of this country's great universities; and for eight years he was president of a major engineering and construction company.

Shultz attended Princeton University, graduating in 1942 with a BA in economics. Shortly after graduation, he enlisted in the US Marine Corps and served through 1945. He then resumed his studies, this time at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where he earned a PhD in industrial economics in 1949. From 1948 to 1957 he taught at MIT, taking a leave of absence in 1955 to serve as a senior staff economist on President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers. In 1957, Shultz joined the faculty of the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business as a professor of industrial relations. He was named dean five years later.

Shultz returned to government when he was appointed secretary of labor by President Nixon in 1969. In June 1970, he became the first director of the newly formed Office of Management and Budget. In May 1972, he was named secretary of the Treasury, a post he held for two years. Shultz left government service in 1974 to become president and director of the Bechtel Group, where he remained until 1982. While at Bechtel, he maintained close ties with the academic world by joining the faculty of Stanford University.

Shultz held two key positions in the Reagan administration: chairman of the President's Economic Policy Advisory Board (1981–82) and secretary of state (1982–89). As secretary of state, he played a key role in implementing a foreign policy that led to the successful conclusion of the Cold War and the development of strong relationships between the United States and the countries of the Asia-Pacific region including China, Japan, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

After leaving office, Shultz rejoined the Bechtel Group as director and senior counselor. He also rejoined Stanford as professor of international economics at the Graduate School of Business and as a distinguished fellow at the Hoover Institution. In 2001, Shultz was named the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

In January 1989, Shultz was awarded the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor. He is also a recipient of the Seoul Peace Prize (1992), the West Point Sylvanus Thayer Award (1992), the Eisenhower Medal for Leadership and Service (2001), the Reagan Distinguished American Award (2002), and the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training's Ralph Bunche Award for Diplomatic Excellence (2002). In 2011, he received the Congressional Medal of Honor Society's Distinguished Citizen Award and the first Economic Club of New York Award for Leadership Excellence. In 2012, he was presented with a Democracy Service Medal by the National Endowment for Democracy and received the Henry A. Kissinger Prize at the American Academy in Berlin. The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation dedicated the Global Issues and Reagan-Gorbachev Summits Galleries in his honor in June 2012.

WILLIAM PERRY is an American mathematician, engineer, and businessman who was the United States Secretary of Defense from February 3, 1994, to January 23, 1997, under President Bill Clinton. He also served as Deputy Secretary of Defense (1993–1994) and Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering (1977–1981).

Perry is the Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor (emeritus) at Stanford University, with a joint appointment at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies and the School of Engineering. He is also a senior fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution. He serves as director of the Preventive Defense Project. He is an expert in U.S. foreign policy, national security and arms control. In 2013 he founded the William J. Perry Project, a non-profit effort to educate the public on the current dangers of nuclear weapons.

Perry also has extensive business experience and serves on the boards of several high-tech companies. He is a member of the National Academy of Engineering and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Among Perry's numerous awards are the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1997), Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire (1998) and the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun (2002), awarded by the Emperor of Japan.

JOSH RAUH is a senior fellow and Director of Research at the Hoover Institution and the Ormond Family Professor of Finance at Stanford's Graduate School of Business. He formerly taught at the University of Chicago's Booth School of Business (2004–9) and the Kellogg School of Management (2009–12).

Rauh has published numerous journal articles and was awarded the 2006 Brattle Prize for the outstanding research paper on corporate finance published in the *Journal of Finance* for his paper "Investment and Financing Constraints: Evidence from the Funding of Corporate Pension Plans." In 2011 he won the Smith Breeden Prize for the outstanding research paper on capital markets, published in the *Journal of Finance*, for his paper "Public Pension Promises: How Big Are They and What Are they Worth?" coauthored with Robert Novy-Marx.

His other writings include "Pension Assumptions and Managerial Investment Decisions," coauthored with Daniel Bergstresser and Mihir Desai, which won the Barclays Global Investor Best Symposium Paper from the European Finance Association and appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. Other work has

appeared in the *Review of Financial Studies*, the *Journal of Financial Economics*, and the *Journal of Political Economy*. Rauh's research on state and local pension systems in the United States has received national media coverage in outlets such as the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, the *Financial Times*, and *The Economist*.

Rauh received a BA degree in economics, magna cum laude with distinction, from Yale University and a PhD in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

ABBAS MILANI is the Hamid & Christina Moghadam Director of Iranian Studies and Adjunct Professor at the Center on Democracy, Development and Rule of Law at the Freeman Spogli Institute at Stanford University. He has been one of the founding co-directors of the Iran Democracy Project and a research fellow at the Hoover Institution. His expertise is U.S.-Iran relations as well as Iranian cultural, political, and security issues. Until 1986, he taught at Tehran University's Faculty of Law and Political Science, where he was also a member of the Board of Directors of the university's Center for International Relations. After moving to the United States, he was for fourteen years the Chair of the Political Science Department at the Notre Dame de Namur University. For eight years, he was a visiting Research Fellow in University of California, Berkeley's Middle East Center.

BJORN LOMBORG is president of the Copenhagen Consensus Center and visiting professor at Copenhagen Business School. He has been named one of TIME magazine's 100 most influential people in the world, multiple times "top 100 Global Thinker" by Foreign Policy, "one of the 50 people who could save the planet" by the UK Guardian and "one of the world's 75 most influential people of the 21st century" by Esquire Magazine.

He has written for New York Times, Wall Street Journal, USA Today, The Economist, The Atlantic, Forbes Magazine, Globe & Mail, The Guardian, The Daily and Sunday Telegraph, The Times, The Australian, the LA Times, Boston Globe, New Scientist, Prospect, Der Spiegel, Stern, Focus, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Handelsblatt, Die Welt, Le Monde, Le Figaro Il Sole 24 Ore (Italy), El Mundo (Spain), Times of India, Hindustan Times, China Daily, Shanghai Daily, Jakarta Post, Philippine Daily Inquirer, Prothom Alo (Bangladesh), VEJA (Brazil), Milenio (Mexico), El Tiempo (Colombia), Clarin (Argentina), El Universal (Venezuela), La Tercera (Chile), El Comercio (Peru), East African (Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda), Mail & Guardian (South Africa), New Telegraph (Nigeria) and many others. Lomborg's monthly column is printed in about 40 newspapers in 19 languages, with more than 30 million readers. He is a television commentator on CNN, Fox, MSNBC and the BBC, among others, on shows such as "Newsnight", "20/20", "60 Minutes", David Letterman, Larry King and Stephen Colbert. He was featured in the movie "Cool it", by Sundance Award-winning director Ondi Timoner. His numerous books include "The Skeptical Environmentalist", "Cool It", "How to Spend \$75 Billion to Make the World a Better Place" and "The Nobel Laureates' Guide to the Smartest Targets for the World 2016-2030."

The Copenhagen Consensus Center is an award-winning think-tank that researches the smartest ways to do good, working with 300+ of the world's top economists and 7 Nobel Laureates.

JAMES MATTIS is the Davies Family Distinguished Fellow, after having served with distinction as the nation's 26th Secretary of Defense in the administration. In December of 2016, President Donald J. Trump nominated Mattis for Secretary of Defense and he was confirmed a month later. Mattis left Hoover to apply his extraordinary knowledge and experience to help the President shape his national defense policy.

General Mattis commanded at multiple levels in his forty-three-year career as an infantry Marine. As a lieutenant in the western Pacific, he served as a rifle and weapons platoon commander in the Third Marine Division. As a captain in the Pacific and Indian Ocean, he commanded a rifle company and a weapons company in the First Marine Brigade. As a major he was the battalion officer at the Naval Academy Prep School and commanded Marine recruiters in the Pacific Northwest and Hawaii. As a lieutenant colonel he commanded an assault battalion breaching the Iraqi minefields in Operation Desert Storm.

As a colonel he commanded 7th Marine Regiment and, on Pentagon duty, he served as the Department of Defense Executive Secretary. As a brigadier general he was the Senior Military Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Following 9-11 he commanded the First Marine Expeditionary Brigade and Naval Task Force 58 in operations against the Taliban in southern Afghanistan. As a major general, he commanded the First Marine Division during the initial attack and subsequent stability operations in Iraq. In his first tour as a lieutenant general, he was in charge of Marine Corps Combat Development at Quantico and subsequently served as Commander, I Marine Expeditionary Force/Commander, U.S. Marine Forces in the Middle East. As a general he served concurrently as the Commander of U.S. Joint Forces Command and as NATO's Supreme Allied Commander for Transformation.

Before retiring in 2013 he was the Commander of U.S. Central Command, directing military operations of over 200,000 soldiers, sailors, airmen, Coast Guardsmen, Marines and allied forces across the Middle East. He is co-editor of the book, *Warriors & Citizens: American Views of Our Military*.

EDWARD LAZEAR is the Morris A. and Nona Jean Cox Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution since 1985, is also the Davies Family Professor of Economics at Stanford University's Graduate School of Business, where he has taught since 1992. Professor Lazear taught previously at the University of Chicago's Economics Department and Graduate School of Business, where he was the Brown Professor of Urban and Labor Economics.

Lazear was Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers and served at the White House, on leave from Stanford, from 2006 to 2009. In his position as the chief economic advisor to the President, he advised on a broad range of matters that involve both the macroeconomy and microeconomic issues. Founding Editor of the *Journal of Labor Economics*, Lazear is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences, the Econometric Society, and the Society of Labor Economists of which he was president. Lazear is a Visiting Distinguished Fellow of the Becker Friedman Institute at the University of Chicago and is heads the economics initiative at the George W. Bush Institute. He is also a Research Associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research, where he co-chairs the program in personnel economics.

Professor Lazear's book *Personnel Economics* (MIT Press, 1995) expands on his 1993 Wicksell Lectures. In 1998, he received the Melamed Prize, which cited this book as the best research by a business school professor anywhere in the world during the previous two years. He received the Distinguished Teaching Award from Stanford University's Graduate School of Business, the PhD Faculty Distinguished Service Award, and the Davis Prize for Lifetime Achievement.

Lazear won the IZA Prize in Labor Economics, which is given to the person viewed to have made the most significant contributions to labor economics in the world. This was primarily for his work in personnel economics. In June 2006, Lazear was awarded the Jacob Mincer Prize given by the Society of Labor Economics for lifetime contributions to the field. He holds four honorary doctorates.

In addition to his former duties in Washington, Professor Lazear has been an advisor to the governments of Czechoslovakia, Romania, Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia.

Born in 1948, Professor Lazear grew up in Los Altos, California. He received his AB and AM degrees from the University of California at Los Angeles, and his PhD from Harvard University in economics.

CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWS

MIKE ANDREWS

Majority Staff Director and Chief Counsel, Senate Committee on Indian Affairs

T. Michael Andrews is the Chief Counsel and Majority Staff Director for the United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs (SCIA). SCIA has jurisdiction to study the unique problems of American Indian, Native Hawaiian, and Alaska Native peoples and to propose legislation to alleviate these difficulties. These issues include, but are not limited to, Indian education, economic development, land management, trust responsibilities, health care, and claims against the United States.

RACHEL BRANDENBURG

Senior Policy Advisor, Representative Elissa Slotkin (MI)

Rachel Brandenburg is Senior Policy Advisor for Congresswoman Elissa Slotkin (MI-08). Just prior, Rachel worked at the Atlantic Council as director of the Scowcroft Center Middle East Security Initiative. From late 2014 to early 2018, Rachel served in the U.S. Department of Defense Office of the Secretary of Defense for Middle East Policy where she initially focused on Iraq and the counter-ISIS campaign as Iraq Director, and then Israel, Jordan, Egypt, and Lebanon as Levant Director. Rachel had previously worked on the Middle East and North Africa at the U.S. Institute of Peace, and served at the U.S. State Department in the Office of Middle East Transitions as the Tunisia Assistance Coordinator, and in the Middle East Partnership Initiative office. Prior to joining the U.S. government, Rachel worked with Search for Common Ground, the Saban Center for Middle East Policy, and the Transatlantic Institute in Brussels. Rachel was the recipient of a Fulbright Scholarship in Israel and a Critical Language Scholarship in Jordan. Rachel completed an MS in foreign service at Georgetown University and a BA in international relations and Middle Eastern studies at Tufts University.

NICHOLAS BROWN

Legislative Director, Representative Jody Hice (GA)

Nicholas (Nick) Brown hails from Atlanta, Georgia. He has worked in policy and politics for over 15 years with a focus on high tech and family values policy. He holds undergraduate degrees in journalism and political science from University of North Georgia and Kennesaw State University, and graduate degrees from The Florida State University (MPA) and Dallas Theological Seminary (ThM). He currently serves as Legislative Director for Congressman Jody Hice (GA-10), managing the defense and national security portfolios for the congressman's work as Ranking Member on the House Oversight Subcommittee on National Security. In his free time he enjoys college football and working on old cars in his garage back home.

MICHAEL CALCAGNI

Senior Military Legislative Assistant, Representative Michael Turner (OH)

Mike is the Military Legislative Assistant for Congressman Michael Turner (OH-10), who represents Wright Patterson Air Force Base. In this role, Mike manages the Congressman's national security portfolio as it pertains to his assignment on the House Armed Services Committee and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and his position as Vice President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Mike was active duty member of the National Guard serving in the Army Congressional Fellowship Program with assignments to Army House Liaison Division, Office of Legislative Liaison and the Office of Congressman Sanford D. Bishop, Jr. (GA-02).

Mike is a Field Artillery and Military Police branch qualified Army Officer and continues to maintain membership as a traditional guardsman in the 43d Military Police Brigade, Rhode Island Army National Guard. He is currently a Major / O-4, has served in multiple command assignments and has deployed in support of Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom. He has completed a master's degree in Legislative Affairs from George Washington University in 2016, a master's degree in Accounting from Boston College in 2005 and bachelor's degree in Finance and Accounting from Providence College in 2004.

BILL CHRISTIAN

Deputy Chief of Staff & Legislative Director, Representative Randy Weber (TX)

Currently serving as Deputy Chief of Staff/Legislative Director for Rep. Randy Weber (R-Texas), Bill Christian was appointed to the administrations of Presidents George H.W. and George W. Bush (as a speechwriter for the Secretary of the Navy and as Chief of Staff of the Selective Service System, respectively), as well as having worked for two U.S. Senators from Texas (John Tower and Phil Gramm). In addition to having served 27 years in the U.S. Marine Corps (both active and reserve), Bill--a 1986 graduate of the University of Texas at Austin--also served as Assistant Vice Chancellor for Federal Relations for the University of Texas System. He graduated from the Naval War College in 1995.

ALLISON FEIKES

Legislative Assistant, Senator Mike Braun (IN)

Allison Feikes is a Legislative Assistant for Senator Mike Braun of Indiana, covering issues including education, social security, tax, and foreign affairs. She previously worked in a similar capacity for Congresswoman Barbara Comstock of Virginia. She also completed a Fulbright Scholarship in Canakkale, Turkey and worked at the U.S. Mission to the European Union in Brussels, Belgium. She is a member of CISV International, a UNESCO nonprofit peace organization that aims to educate and inspire action for a more just and peaceful world. She holds a Masters in International Economics and European and Eurasian Studies from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and a Bachelors in Political Science and International Affairs from the Mahurin Honors College at Western Kentucky University.

ALLISON JARUS

Senior Policy Advisor, Representative Mike Quigley (IL)

Allison Jarus is the Senior Policy Advisor to Congressman Mike Quigley (D-IL). Since 2015, Allison has handled foreign policy, national security, defense, healthcare, LGBTQ & women's rights issues for the Congressman. Rep. Quigley sits on both the Appropriations committee and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

JAMES LEUSCHEN

Senior Policy Advisor, Representative Steny Hoyer (MD)

James Leuschen is Senior Policy Advisor for economic and fiscal policy to House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer. Mr. Leuschen coordinates budget, tax, and economic policy formation through the legislative process on behalf of Democrats in the House. Prior to joining Majority Leader Hoyer's office in 2010, he was Legislative Director for Rep. Jim Cooper of Tennessee, advising members of Blue Dog Coalition on fiscal policy. Originally from Omaha, Nebraska, he holds a Master's in Public Policy from The University of Chicago and a Bachelor's in Philosophy from Creighton University.

THERESA LOU

Policy Analyst, House Committee on Foreign Affairs

Theresa Lou is the Asia Policy Analyst for the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, where she focuses on matters related to the Indo-Pacific. Prior to joining the committee, Theresa was a research associate at the Council on Foreign Relations for the International Institutions and Global

Governance program. She has also interned at the U.S. Department of State Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs and the U.S. Department of Defense Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy. Theresa received her undergraduate degree from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in 2014 and is a master's candidate in the Security Studies program.

ROBERT MURRAY

Legislative Director, Senator Robert F. Wicker (MS)

Rob Murray is Senator Wicker's Legislative Director and has been working in the DC office for 8 years. Originally from Bay St. Louis, MS, Rob attended Spring Hill College in Mobile, AL. After college, Rob lived in St. Louis, MO for 3 years with his wife and worked in finance prior to them moving to the nation's capital. Rob received his Master's in Business Administration from Webster University in St. Louis, MO in 2016. Rob and his wife, Kristen, have a 2-year-old son, Brooks, and a new born daughter, Adaline.

LAURA ODATO

Special Advisor for Military Policy, Senator Martha McSally (AZ)

Laura Odato is the Special Advisor for Military Policy for Senator Martha McSally (R-AZ), where she focuses on military personnel and veteran's issues. Prior to her current role, she was a Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs, the Senior Manager of External Affairs at the Hoover Institution's Washington DC office, and also worked in external affairs at both the Cato Institute and the Center for Competitive Politics. Laura received a bachelor's degree in government and sociology from Skidmore College and a master's degree in public policy from George Mason University.

DAVID OGLE JR.

Military Legislative Assistant

David Ogle joined the Marine Corps after graduating high school, and in 2010, he deployed to the Helmand Province in Afghanistan. He graduated from the University of Miami in 2015 with a B.A. in Philosophy. David started working on Capitol Hill through the HillVets Fellowship program before being hired as a Legislative Assistant in the office of Rep. Stephanie Murphy, where he worked for two years. David now works in the Office of Rep. Joe Cunningham as his Military Legislative Assistant.

ZACHARY SORENSON

Legislative Aide, Representative Adam Schiff (CA)

Zach Sorenson works on technology, telecommunications, energy, housing, and transportation policy as a legislative aide to Congressman Adam Schiff (D-Burbank), the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee. In this role, he is currently working on understanding how emerging technologies like artificial intelligence could exacerbate misinformation challenges, as well as supply chain threats to U.S. cybersecurity. Originally from the Bay Area, Zach received a BS in computer science and an MA in public policy from Stanford before moving to DC, and worked as a research and teaching assistant to Dr. Rice.

Legislative Aide, Senator Mike Rounds (SD)

NICHOLAS WYATT

Nicholas Wyatt serves as the Tax, Infrastructure, and Nominations Policy Advisor on the Republican staff of the Senate Finance Committee. In this role, Nick is responsible for the vetting of all presidential nominees referred to the Finance Committee, as well as for advising the Chairman on many tax issues including the Highway and Airport and Airway trust funds. Nick has been with the Finance Committee since early 2005. A native of Rockford, Illinois, Nick has a degree in Economics from the University of Rochester and a Master of Public Policy degree from Georgetown University.